

To Francis Mayland

Sir

You have truly said, "it is a common remark, that whenever it has been thought necessary to arouse the mind of man to enterprises of great birth & moment, the appeal has always been made to his moral sentiments"; but it is not more true, as an historical fact, that in all such cases, the appeal has been thus made, than it is, as a philosophical truth, that to be effectual, it must be so made. Indeed the historical fact is but the demonstration of the philosophical truth; it is the experience of universal man giving its unvarying testimony to the truth, that in all such enterprises, the appeal, to be effectual, must be ~~to these~~ <sup>the moral</sup> ~~sentiments~~, to these sentiments. Nor is this more true of the effort to "arouse", than of the attempt to lull ~~the mind to sleep~~. In either, & in both cases alike, the only ~~really~~ effectual appeal must be to the moral sentiments of the man. It is true, ~~particularly in the latter case,~~ <sup>particularly in the latter case,</sup> that the various appliances to which ~~wickedness~~ <sup>wickedness</sup> is wont to resort, may answer a temporary purpose. ~~The various~~ <sup>The various</sup> forms of reproach, such as "mad", "beside myself", "those that turn the world upside down", "pestilential fellows", ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> "enthusiasts", "fanatics", "monomaniacs", "incendiaries", "cutthroats", "Jacobins", "stirners up of insurrection" &c. &c.;

# C I R C U L A R .

## CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was *gagged by the previous question!* As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people condemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

'Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

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1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let *adults* only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—'Petition of A. B. and others of remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.'

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress.* Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

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By order of the Board of Managers  
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; the caveats, injunctions, mandates, & threatenings of  
 age, station, interest, numbers, or authority; the <sup>anathe-</sup> ~~common~~  
~~mas~~ ~~creations~~ of "indignation meetings" & the "uproar" of  
 shrine-makers; the decisions of Sanfedrims, & Confer-  
 -ences & Councils, & "Lawless" magistrates & Lynch  
 Committees; the violence of mobs & the Confiscation,  
 imprisonment, torture, stripes, banishment, & death  
 of the persecuting, civil or ecclesiastical arm, these,  
 & the thousand other appliances to which "vested" wrong  
 & hoary headed crime are wont, in such cases, to re-  
 -sort, may be launched, <sup>at the outset,</sup> like an avalanche of ruin,  
 on the head of those, who set ~~the~~ great enterprises of  
 reform on foot; & for the time being, by alarming  
 the fears of the timid & enlisting the interests of the selfish  
 & forestalling the judgment of all, <sup>they</sup> may serve to <sup>weaken</sup> ~~break~~ the  
 force & retard the progress of the moral appeal, but  
 this is all. Destroy its force & stop its progress, they cannot.  
 The man may die, but ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> appeal, ~~if so that it be that~~  
~~appeal of truth, will live; & though if it be that of~~  
~~truth, will live; & though if it be that of truth, will live,~~  
~~so far from becoming powerless~~  
 if it be that of truth, will live; & "when uttered from the  
 stake or on the scaffold", so far from being rendered ~~thereby~~  
 powerless thereby, <sup>it</sup> ~~will~~, as you justly say, "becomes ab-  
 -solutely

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Your memorialists ‘consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body:’ They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and to THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.



irresistible," ~~even~~ "even falsehood, when stained with blood,  
 requires, not infrequently, for a time, an invincible  
 power." It was ~~but the remark of~~ well said, therefore  
 by Daniel Webster in 1836, "it (the question of slavery) has  
 arrested the religious feelings of the Country; it has taken  
 strong hold on the Consciences of men, & he is a rash  
 man indeed, little conversant with human nature, who  
 supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with,  
 or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be re-  
 spected. It may be reasoned with, but to Coerce it into  
 silence - to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to  
 seek to compress & confine it, warm as it is, & more  
 heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it -  
 should all this be attempted, I know nothing even  
 in the Constitution or the Union itself, which would  
 not be endangered by the explosion which might  
 follow". Nor did it indicate a less familiar acquaint-  
 -ance with human nature, when Duff Green declared  
 two years before, that the South had "most to fear from the  
 organized action upon the Consciences & fears of the  
 slaveholders themselves," & that it was "only by alarming  
 the Consciences of the weak & feeble, & diffusing among  
 their own people, a morbid sensibility on the subject,  
 that the abolitionists could accomplish their object" - admitting

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of course, that in this way, they could do it. The truth  
 is, & I thank you for uttering it so distinctly, "every one  
 feels that he must do what his conscience commands,  
 & that <sup>he</sup> must not do what his conscience forbids, all  
 things else to the contrary notwithstanding". So that in  
~~this case, as in every other, let us the case of slave~~  
 the matter of slavery, as of every other, let us once  
 make a lodgement in the Consciences of those con-  
 -cerned, & our work is done. No motives of wisdom,  
 or prudence, or advantage, or loss, can be allowed  
 to come into competition with this, the Supreme au-  
 -thority of their being. Nay, more, they must devote their  
 whole intellectual & physical power ~~to~~ to the accom-  
 -plishment of the purpose to which they are urged by  
 the voice of God, thus speaking within them". If we  
 enlist "the moral impulse", we enlist "the whole  
 Energy of the whole man."  
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In this view of the case, I grant you, "that the events of the present time do specially call for the discussion" ~~of the question of "human responsibility."~~ to which you have addressed yourself. For these are such as to show, that the abolition enterprise must be arrested, if at all, ~~as~~ it has been carried on, by an appeal to the "moral sentiments." It has outlived every other mode of attack & ~~you~~ gained strength by the conflict, until, at length, the day of reproach & contempt, of the "curled lip & pointed finger, of civil ecclesiastical & academic proscription, of brickbats & rotten eggs, "on the hills of New England", is passing by; & even the "magnanimous South", whose "chivalric contempt of danger", & "enthusiastic attachment to personal right" you "know", is becoming, (because she cannot help it), "equal to the occasion" of allowing the reign of silence, if not of Lynch law, to be broken! ~~In these & their associated "events", the defenders~~

These & their associated "events" are teaching, ~~at the~~ "present time", what the defenders of slavery & the opponents of abolition should have learned from the history of all former time, that no enterprise, righteous or unrighteous in its principles, which relies for its advancement upon the moral appeal, can ever be effectually met by any other; ~~may,~~

# CIRCULAR.

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that "even falsehood" will gain strength by persecution, & in your own impressive language, "when sealed with blood, acquire, not unfrequently, for a time, an irrepressible power." ~~And to me,~~ <sup>therefore,</sup> it is not a little encouraging, ~~to see, that many indications,~~ <sup>that at last, the</sup> ~~opponents of the abolition enterprise, are beginning~~ <sup>seem to have,</sup> to learn, what "the events of ~~the~~ <sup>the present</sup> time", ~~past~~ <sup>as well</sup> as of the past, ~~are so well fitted to teach,~~ <sup>are so well fitted to teach,</sup> ~~it is accordingly, as the last resort,~~ <sup>that if they hope to arrest its</sup> ~~in its progress, their only effectual weapon must be,~~ <sup>the moral appeal.</sup>

Not is this all; the enterprise ~~has~~ now reached a point, at which, this ~~XXXX~~ appeal, if made at all, must be made upon the main question. Throughout the land, the outposts, ~~have~~ for the most part, <sup>have</sup> been carried. Before the power of the moral appeal, colonization, gradualism, entailment, impracticability, disunion, assumed pastoral rights &c. &c. have fled, or are flying the field. At the South, Slavery is retreating from every other entrenchment, to the bible, & as if conscious of defeat every where else, is joining issue, as a last resort, upon the question, whether it has or has not the sanction of

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the word of God. At the North, the question is ceasing to be one of preliminaries, of the correctness or incorrectness, the policy or impolicy, the practicability or impracticability, the safety or the danger of the principles & measures in question, & is becoming one of ultimates merely, viz what are our responsibilities & how shall we meet them. Previous questions are every where being disposed of; & with clear decks & open sea, we have reached the point, at which the great conflict is to be decided by the strength of the moral appeal, & by the strength too of that appeal, not on preliminaries, but upon the main question. If Smylie & his Coadjutors at the South, can, by such appeal, make men believe that slavery is sanctioned by the bible, & therefore is, at least, a harmless institution, he will enlist the Conscience of the South, in its support; & if you Sir, & your Coadjutors at the North, can make men here believe, that, wicked as slavery is, they have no responsibilities in respect to it, or if they have, that the present mode of meeting them, by "voluntary societies", is of doubtful if not certain impropriety, then will you have "extricated them", as you say, "from otherwise most perplexing moral embarrassment" & enlisted their Conscience in favor of the "let alone" policy; & what, with the support of Southern Conscience & the "let alone" of Northern, slavery, so far as you can effect, it will stand forever; <sup>& you</sup> & your "Southern brethren" may share the deep damnation of having ~~well have~~ done the deed! For though "perverted", yourself



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'Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let *adults* only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—'Petition of A. B. and others of remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.'

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers

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being witness, Conscience will do her work, & in this, as in other cases, "act with the whole energy of the whole man, & the mischief it works be measured only by the limitations, which God shall fix to its physical & intellectual power". If however, ~~as in time past~~ you should be unsuccessful, & the appeal upon the main question <sup>should ~~be~~</sup> ~~should~~ share the fate of ~~these~~ <sup>that</sup> upon preliminaries, then indeed the whole system must tumble into ruins, & time only can show what shall become of "this & thy father's house." <sup>For</sup> Southern Conscience once enlisted to ~~that~~ doctrine that the bible <sup>condemns</sup> ~~sanctions~~ slavery, & northern Conscience enlisted in like manner to the doctrine that it has ~~no~~ responsibilities in respect to it, & that the present is a proper way of meeting them, & that moment the Conscience of the nation is roused to its overthrow; & thus roused, it will "own no equal", & "know no counteracting, no countervailing force". Forthwith, it will lead the monster to execution, & scatter his ashes on the winds.



# C I R C U L A R .

## CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was *gagged by the previous question!* As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people condemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

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Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not 'spoken upon the house-tops.' *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

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Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers  
of the Mass. A. S. Society.



Under these circumstances ~~then~~, I not only grant, "that the events of the present time call for the discussion" to which you, & others, seem now addressing <sup>yourselfes,</sup> ~~themselves~~, but such discussion, confident as I am of the result, is, to me, full of encouragement; & the more so from the fact, that whatever your practice, ~~in the case,~~ you seem to intend at least, that the appeal in question shall be purely one of argument addressed to the moral sense. Accordingly in entering upon this discussion, it gives ~~me unmingled satisfaction~~ me unmingled satisfaction to concur with you in the doctrine, that "public opinion", be that public who, or what it may, "can make nothing either right or wrong"; that "moral questions cannot be decided by majorities, nor the law of God be ascertained by the votes of Conventions", nor, ~~with due respect,~~ permit me to add, by the votes of college faculties, or the dictums of college presidents; that in these matters, "every man must give account of himself before God", & "cannot shift the responsibility of his conduct upon others", be they who or what they may; that "when men differ in any matter of belief", the only proper course is, to "let them meet each other manfully"

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit :

<sup>c</sup> Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory, or district of the United States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists ‘consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.’ They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and **TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES**: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to **IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT**.

To the Honorable the Senate and House  
of Representatives of Massachusetts.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

I put the whole question to the issue of argument, — no man ought to wince from this; <sup>namely</sup> ~~that~~ that "the brother in error," on his responsibility to God, "has the same right to propagate his error, that I have to propagate my truth," & that "the only weapons which I am authorized to use, are, considerations addressed to his understanding & conscience — to use any other is persecution"; <sup>& even that "to</sup> ~~in the conflict~~ <sup>of argument</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>even his</sup> ~~that "to misstate"~~ <sup>misstate the opinions of another,</sup> ~~or to draw inferences from his opinions, which he has not drawn, for the sake of fixing upon him the odium of the public" is, not only "wrong," but resorting to one of those "petty modes of guerilla warfare" which, "as it seems to you, are vastly contemptible."~~

Now Sir, I protest as earnestly, as yourself, that "I impeach no man's motives", & yet I confess to you, that with these doctrines on your lips, I can hardly account for it when I find you, declaring, <sup>as</sup> ~~that~~ among "the events of the present time", that "it seems to be frequently taken for granted, that all duties belong to all men; that matters of right recognize no distinction either of age, or sex, of civil office, or ecclesiastical function; that all men, & all women, & all children, are equally (!) responsible for all possible things; that there is no peculiar liar



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Your memorialists consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body: They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States; do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

& special duty assigned to a magistrate or a legislator, a  
 people, or a clergyman; but that every man, woman, &  
 child, is responsible for the discharge of every possible  
 duty, & that every human being may urge this res-  
 -ponsibility upon every other human being, under pen-  
 -alty of the infinite displeasure of the eternal God; &  
 as a matter of fact, that "so far as you have seen,  
 whenever a man begins by neglecting the limits of  
 responsibility which God has affixed, & by assuming  
 that every one is responsible for every thing, (!) he ends,  
 by holding himself & every one else responsible for only  
one thing"; (!) that "we have a right", to be sure, "to attempt to  
 change Southern opinions on the question" of slavery, "but  
 have no right to force our instructions upon them, either  
 by conversation, or by lectures, or by the mail," nor any  
 "right to take any measures of which the natural ten-  
 -dency is, to excite the slaves to insubordination & civil  
 war", as if somebody had done so; that the Anti-slavery  
 societies are "a system of societies, affiliated, not for  
 the sake of circulating truth at the South, but for the sake  
 of exciting & agitating the people at the North," & <sup>that, in print of</sup> ~~have~~  
<sup>fact, they</sup> "have raised a violent agitation," <sup>but</sup> "without presenting any definite

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Your memorialists ‘ consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body :’ They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and **TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES :** They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to **IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.**

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means of constitutionally accomplishing their object." I say, Sir, that with such professions on your lips, I can hardly account for it, that in this very discussion, such should be your practice. True, you may not be aware, that in the above & similar remarks to which I might refer you, you have "misstated" & "grossly caricatured" the opinions of those whom you consider in error, & "drawn inferences from them which they never drew", & stated as facts, what, notoriously, are not facts. If so, you may escape the charge of having done it "for the sake of fixing upon them the odium of the public," & may ~~thus~~ save your motive at the expense of your intelligence. Otherwise, I see not, <sup>but you must stand convicted out</sup> ~~how you will escape the~~ <sup>of your own mouth,</sup> ~~charge~~ <sup>yourself</sup> of having resorted to "a mode of warfare, vastly contemptible." ~~As "I impeach no man's motive", I leave~~  
 You <sup>can</sup> ~~to~~ take that horn of the dilemma, which is most agreeable. Meanwhile, as we proceed, it may be well to note here, for the sake of convenient reference, several other doctrines or sentiments, in which, professedly at least, we are agreed. And,

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1. "The steadfast wisdom of God" is "far better than the fluctuating caprice of man!"
2. "In all moral questions, the being to whom we are ultimately responsible is the Creator."
3. "Our responsibility to the Creator, is a responsibility to obey his Commands, to do the very thing that he has told us, & to do nothing either more, or less, or different from, what he has told us."
4. "The commands of God cannot be inconsistent with themselves."
5. "In so far as our relations to God are essentially concerned, his Commands have respect simply to temper of mind. The temper is the essence, the act is an accident."
6. "The temper cannot exist without correspondent action, if the act be in our power, taking the word power in its full import."
7. "We are not responsible for the opinions of our fellow men, but only for the setting before their understanding & conscience", in a proper way, "what we believe to be the truth."
8. Duty is ours, consequences are God's. "It is granted that we are bound to exert our whole power, without regard to consequences, in the performance of duty." "We have only to ask, are our principles according to the will of God? If so, we are not responsible for the result. He knew when he promulgated his will, that it would be liable to abuse from the perversity of man. The responsibility for this, rests, neither with him nor with us, but with the man who abuses it."



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At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

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4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers  
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We come now to the main question - "the principles by which we may judge of our individual responsibility." I say main, because from the nature of the case it must be, & from the most cursory examination of your book it obviously is the fact, that your views upon ~~this question give character to those advanced upon~~ the subsequent topics of discussion take their character from the views advanced upon this. Indeed you announce this, in terms, as your plan of discussion. You are "first to illustrate some of the principles, by which we may decide whether we are, or are not, responsible for a particular result; & then to apply these principles to several of the cases in which a mistake is most likely to occur". The illustration, we have in the chapters on "individual responsibility", the application, in those on "persecution", "propagation of truth", "voluntary societies" &c. & last not least, in the chapter on "slavery". And so intimate is the connexion of the one with the other, that the strength of the argument ~~strongly~~ is <sup>obviously</sup> in the illustration, & accordingly, that the positions taken in the application must stand or fall with those taken in it. In this view, it is of first & chief importance ~~to examine carefully the principles~~ positions taken in

The Illustration.



body, by a vote of 378 to 10, passed the following resolutions:—

\* Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent

the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore, circulate

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Your memorialists 'consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.



And here it is obvious to remark, that at the outset of a discussion, such as you have attempted, of the subject of Moral Responsibility, & particularly of "the principles by which we may judge of our individual responsibility", one naturally asks, what is responsibility? In what sense is the term used? Wherein, if at all, does responsibility differ from obligation or duty? And what are the various kinds of responsibility to which man, in his various relations, is subject? And one as naturally expects, at least at the hands of a philosopher, something in the way of definition & explanation, which shall afford him distinct & definite answers to such inquiries. Indeed it is difficult to see how the "limitations" of the thing can be accurately defined, until the thing itself has been thus defined. ~~And such definition, to be distinguished from every thing else, must of course, so mark the true nature of the thing, as to make it stand out, by itself, in bold relief, & be distinguished from every thing that looks like it, & is wont to be confounded with it.~~ But Sir, I look in vain for such definition & explanation in "Wayland on Human Responsibility". Where have you marked the distinction between responsibility & obligation, or duty? Where have <sup>you</sup> intimated, distinctly & definitely, in what sense you use the term, whether as synonymous with obligation, <sup>as is often done</sup> in the common parlance of life, or in the strict etymological sense of being answerable to? It may be my dullness that is in fault, but I confess to you, I cannot tell. True, ~~therefore~~ entering upon the specification of "limitations", you have a train of remark, the design of which seems to be, to show, "that every one must feel that his responsibility for any particular result is limited by various restrictions, & that these all deserve to be considered, before he resolves that any particular act is his appropriate duty," & that, in considering them, "the will of God, as revealed in his providence & by his word" is to be the standard of decision. And in this train of remark, there is something, that I suppose was designed as definition or explanation, on some or all of the points suggested. Thus, you tell us, that "the notion of responsibility always involves the relation of a superior & an inferior"; that "in all moral questions, the being to whom



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At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

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but one defect in it—it was not 'spoken upon the house-tops.' No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress. Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

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N. B. Let adults only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign separate memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus: Petition of A. B. and others of remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

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Now I grant, that in the strict etymological sense, you have ~~here~~ given the correct definition. In the strict sense, to be responsible is to be answerable, & this supposes the twofold idea of obligation and liability to account. It supposes first that I am "bound to perform" the given thing, whatever it be, & second, that I am bound to it "under penalty." Hence to be responsible to any one is something more than being under obligation to him. Responsibility differs from obligation in this, that I may be under obligation to an individual & yet not be answerable to him for its fulfilment. I may be answerable to some <sup>one</sup> ~~other~~ else, but not to him. Thus ~~I may be under obligation to feed my horse, or my child~~ it may be my duty to feed my child, or my horse, & I may therefore be under obligation to them, & yet I am not answerable, to them. I may be, & am in such case, answerable to some



place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, 'I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people condemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

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we are ultimately responsible is the Creator"; & hence, that "when we say that we are responsible for any particular action, we mean that God will hold us guilty if we do not perform it; that is, that we are bound to perform it under the penalty of his displeasure."

Now, I grant, that in the strict etymological sense, you have here given the correct definition. In the strict sense to be responsible ~~is to be answerable~~ ~~is~~ is to be answerable, & supposes obligation and liability to account. It is to be "bound" ~~to perform~~ "the particular, & to be bound ~~to it~~ "under the penalty of his displeasure" to whom we are responsible.

one else - to God, or the magistrate, as the case may be, but not to them. Though under obligation, & obligation <sup>in their own persons & by their authority,</sup> to them, yet it is not their business, to call me to account, & therefore it is not to them that I am responsible. I am ~~bound~~ under obligation to them, but responsible only to him whose right it is, to call me to account by authority, to call me to account. I say, by authority, because the child, for instance, by an appeal to the magistrate, may call me, or rather get me called to account, & in this sense, you may perhaps say I am responsible to him. But this is not responsibility in the strict sense. In the

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Now I grant, that in the strict, etymological sense, to be responsible is to be answerable, & supposes obligation & liability to account. ~~In this sense,~~ It differs from obligation in this, that I may be under obligation to individuals, ~~yet not be answerable to whom,~~ at the same time, I am not responsible or answerable. I may be under obligation to my horse, yet not be answerable to him for its fulfilment. So, I may be under obligation to my child or my neighbor, ~~yet~~ yet <sup>not</sup> be answerable in the case to them, but to some one else. In this sense, responsibility ~~does~~ supposes the right of the one party to require & call to account, & the duty of the other to obey & render account. In this sense then, I admit that your definition is substantially correct, & that responsibility does suppose "the relation of a superior & an inferior". But ~~if~~ this be the sense in which you use the term, I insist on your standing to the definition. I protest against your departing from its strict signification, & in the adoption of a secondary meaning, applying it to the common affairs of life; or if you do so, that in this sense it involves the relation of a superior & an inferior".

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CIRCULAR.

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we mean that God will hold us guilty if we do not perform it; that is," (to define a definition!), "that we are bound to perform it under the penalty of his displeasure"; that is, <sup>note here the distinction strictly between responsibility & duty.</sup> (to complete the circle!) that we are <sup>Responsibility strictly is answerable to = re-spondes.</sup> under obligation to perform it; that is, that we are responsible for it! I learn also, in the same connection, that "the notion of responsibility always involves the relation of a superior & an inferior"! So that,



signed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people condemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

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Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full-right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at *one* time, as a voice of thunder, in *one* startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let *adults* only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—'Petition of A. B. and others  
of  
remonstrating against the  
resolution of December 21st, 1837.'

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers  
of the Mass. A. S. Society.

(leaving "the notion" to "involve the relation" at its leisure)  
 responsibility cannot exist among equals! or if it does,  
 can do so only on the ground, that <sup>the</sup> one chances to  
 be "a superior" equal & the other "an inferior" equal!  
 And if moreover, ~~the~~ responsibility in any case should  
 happen to be reciprocal, whether it be ~~between~~ <sup>among</sup> superiors  
 & inferiors or equals, it can exist only by virtue  
 of the principle, that each party is "a superior & an  
 inferior" at one & the same time! For "if I am responsi-  
 ble for any act to another, he has the right to command,  
 & it is my duty to obey"; ~~& as command in such case~~  
<sup>necessarily</sup> ~~always~~ <sup>always</sup> supposes "a superior" & duty "an inferior", why  
~~"the notion" to be sure, "always involves the relation"~~  
 As for instance, "a Coachman, who is employed by a  
 merchant, is responsible for the discharge of a par-  
 ticular duty, & this responsibility admits the right of the  
 one party to command, & the duty of the other to obey";  
 & as the merchant on the other hand, is responsible to  
 the coachman for a particular duty, viz. payment for his  
 labor & good treatment, "this responsibility" also "admits  
 the right of the one party to command & the duty of the  
 other to obey"; & as command necessarily supposes  
 "a superior", & duty "an inferior", why "the notion", to be

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned                                 of                                 in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit :

'Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory, or district of the United States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists ‘consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.’ They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and to **THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES**: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to **IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT**.

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of Representatives of Massachusetts.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.



sure, "always involves the relation", & accordingly, without either party being so "very impudent" as to "attempt to generalise his duties", the merchant & the coachman can both play the "superior" & the "inferior", at one & the same time, ad libitum. Or, if the parties in the case should happen to be husband and wife

instead of merchant & coachman, though it might "involve" some family quarrels if not physical impossibilities for each to act "the head" of the other, at the same time, yet nothing is more obvious than that they might take turns at it, & the wife be, now & then at least, the ~~superior head of an inferior~~ "head" of the husband, even as the husband is of the wife - "the notion ~~responsibility~~ <sup>means while</sup> always involving the ~~the right to command~~ & the ~~duty to obey~~ relation." <sup>supposing</sup> And this is definition, in "Mayland on Hum-

-an Responsibility!" Really, Sir, it seems almost to be doing you injustice to suppose it; & yet aside from this, I look in vain for the definitions & explanations which, to me, seem so essential to a clear & intelligible discussion of the subject in question. I feel the ~~want~~ <sup>need</sup>, in such <sup>a</sup> discussion, at the outset, of something in the way of definition & explanation, that shall bring out in clear day light, the rightness of the thing, as the ground of my obligation or responsibility for its performance. For although, the thing <sup>itself</sup> being ~~in itself~~

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right, God's command to do it may increase the weight  
 of my responsibility & enhance my guilt if I do it not,  
 yet not so, if the thing itself be wrong. God, if such  
 a case were supposable, might "hold us guilty" if  
 we refused to commit murder, or to lie, or steal, nay  
 we might be "bound under the penalty of his dis-  
pleasure" to do such deeds, until doomsday, but  
 that would not make us responsible <sup>to do</sup> for them, nor  
 involve us in guilt if we refused to do them. So  
 far from it, with "the penalty of his displeasure" even  
 hanging over us, it would still be our duty not  
 to do them, & such requirements, on his part, would  
 but evidence his own injustice & undecify the God.  
 Recognizing then, as you ever have, the existence of  
 essential right & essential wrong in the nature of  
 things, the marvel is that you did not set out  
 in the present discussion, with the rightness of the  
thing, as the grand test, in all questions of  
 responsibility. Had you done so, whatever might  
 have become of the application, your illustration  
 of "the principles by which we may judge of our  
 individual responsibility," <sup>might have</sup> ~~would~~ been far more  
 lucid & correct, <sup>as well as brief,</sup> than at present. ~~Such a definition~~  
~~would have furnished~~ Indeed, such a definition



# C I R C U L A R .

## CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was *gagged by the previous question!* As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straightway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

'Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not 'spoken upon the house-tops.' *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let *adults* only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—'Petition of A. B. and others of remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.'

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress.* Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers  
of the Mass. A. S. Society.

would have furnished you at the outset with this general & self-evident proposition, that in all questions of responsibility, man is bound to do all, that he rightfully can. And with this for your guidance, your chapters on "limitations" might have run, somewhat in the following style. 1. It can never be right to require men to <sup>perform</sup> ~~do~~ what they "have not the physical power to perform" - therefore ~~they~~ <sup>they are</sup> can never be bound to do ~~that~~ <sup>what we cannot do</sup>. 2. It can never be right, to violate "the rights of our fellow men" - therefore we can never be bound to do ~~that~~. 3. It can never be right, to violate "innocent obligations", whether "contracted previously" or not - therefore we can never be bound to do ~~that~~. 4. It can never be right, to use "power", whatever its kind, "for other purposes than those for which it (~~not some other power~~) was committed to us" - therefore we can never be bound to do ~~that~~. 5. It can never be right, to present "wrong motives to another", that is to "tempt him to sin" - therefore we can never be bound to do ~~that~~. <sup>And thus,</sup> ~~and thus~~ your thirty six pages of "limitations" might have been brought within a very narrow compass space, & the sum total of the truth they contain, been stated in ~~some~~ five very simple & self-evident truisms!

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned                                 of                                 in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit :

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Your memorialists "consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body : ' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and **TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES:** They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to **IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.**

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States; do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.



Is it a right? Yes, because  
it has a corresponding duty.  
Every right has such —  
Free discussion is man's  
own duty, by the express  
command of God.

1. 2. Nay, rather, as  
I said the very constitution  
of our being, as responsive  
agents.

3. It is not conferred  
therefore & cannot be taken  
away by human government  
literary or ecclesiastical.

4. It is not conferred  
by descent, or complexion  
or station, & cannot be  
taken away by them.

5. It is not self-granted  
or self-conferred, & cannot  
be put off by & hindered  
in obedience to & dictation of  
govt or station.

To fetter or forbid or  
shrink from its exercise

1. Treachery to God & rebellion  
to his govt.

2. Treachery to truth

3. Reason to immortal  
mind.

4. Reason to rights &  
interests of the universe

- 9. & all intelligences

This time indeed of every invasion  
of rights - but, emphatically -

5. It is guilt therefore -

this lies at the foundation of all other

transcends all other

rights - only protection - holy of

guilt. - sin -

holies - can't be reached without

trampling on them. - ploughing

the field of despotism.

Obj. 4. Liable to abuse.

- only opportunity for

- imprudence -

- religion - Paradise -

- heaven -

2. But exciting subjects  
come up &c.

3. But its exercise will  
ensure revolution upon revolu-  
- tion - germ - nothing stable  
in chh. or state.

4. Rent the heart of families  
chh. states &c.

5. No security against area

Motives - 1. Liberties of world  
involved in preservation of  
this principle inviolate - &  
specially by us.

Mc Buffie - G. Connell -

2. Recovery of world to  
God - state point.

From E. A. Phelps

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery  
Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, held this 7<sup>th</sup> day of  
March 1845 [The Rev. Jas. Pringle in the Chair]

It was unanimously resolved

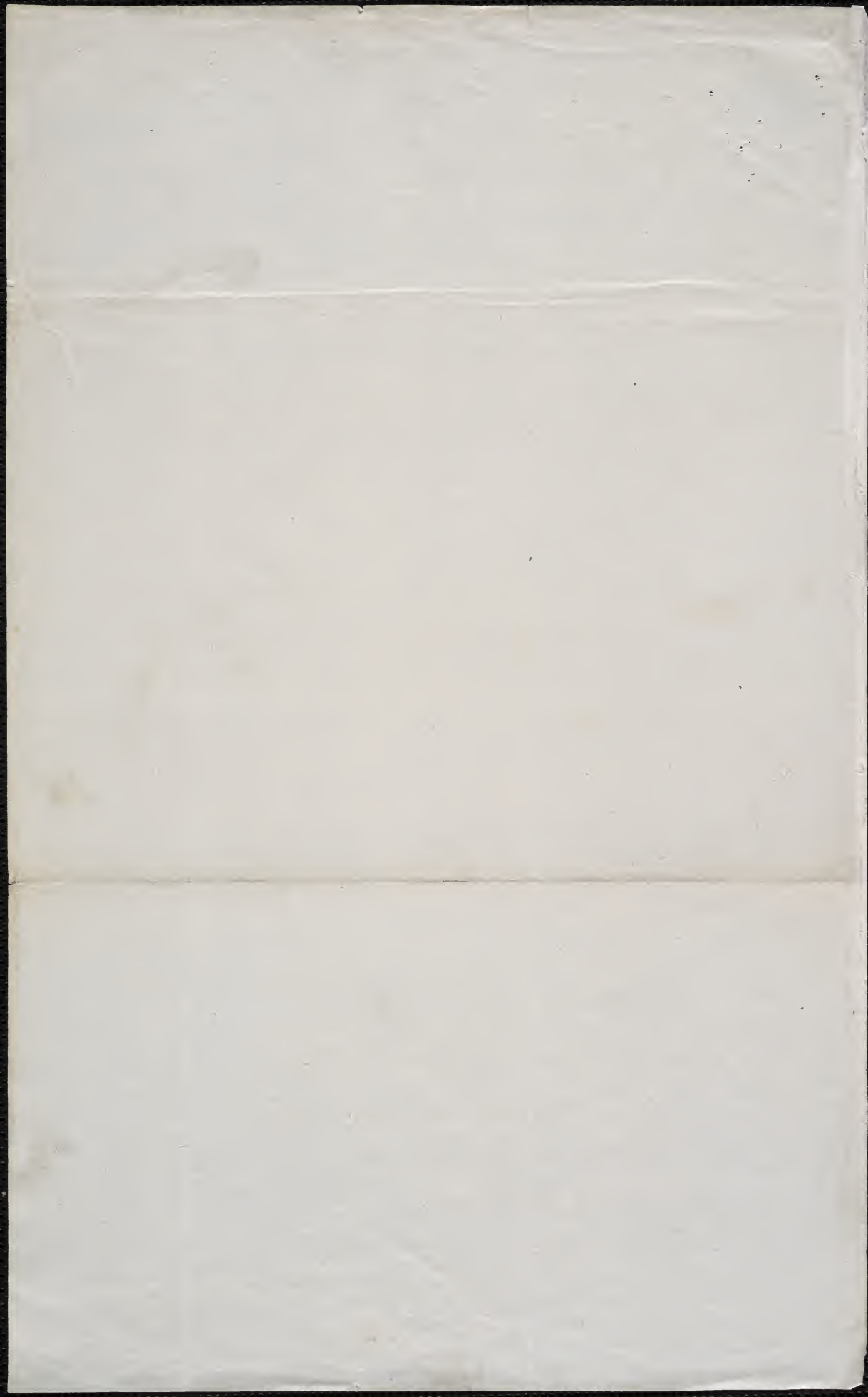
- 1<sup>st</sup> That this Committee desires to express its deep and heartfelt sympathy for those estimable persons who are now incarcerated in the jails and Penitentiaries of the Southern States of North America on the charge of having aided certain Slaves to escape from Southern bondage.
- 2<sup>d</sup> That the language of Holy Scripture is clear and emphatic upon the subject "Thou shalt not deliver unto his Master the servant which is escaped from his Master unto thee" and therefore a State, favoured with the light of Revelation, which punishes individuals for obedience to this "Statute of life" is infidel in its principles of Government and sets itself in direct opposition to the Rule of the Heavens.
- 3<sup>d</sup> That the immortal language of the Declaration of American Independence "God hath created all men equal and endowed them with certain inalienable rights among which are life liberty and the pursuit of happiness" condemns most emphatically the wicked and atrocious system of Slavery obtaining in so many of the States of the American Union and cries aloud for the utter and final extinction of that most brutal and brutalizing bondage by which America holds three Millions of the Human Family in Chains.

Wm. Forster

Wm. Forster

} Secretaries





At a Meeting of the Committee of the Torquay  
Antislavery Society held on Saturday the 28<sup>th</sup> day of March  
1845. the following Resolutions were passed unanimously

1<sup>st</sup> That in the view of this Committee, the law of  
American Slavery, which renders nearly three millions  
of innocent beings and their posterity to perpetual bond-  
=age with all its revolting and cruel incidents must be  
considered by all good men as morally null and void in  
as much as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights  
of man, and an infamous invasion of the prerogatives of  
Almighty God.

2<sup>nd</sup> That the wickedness of this law becomes the  
more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally  
irregular in principle to sustain it, laws which de-  
=nounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish  
acts of mercy with chains, imprisonment, branding  
and the Pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law  
of equity and benevolence which demands that we



should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

3. That the Committee consider it an obvious duty for such persons as have the opportunity to promote the escape of Slaves from the cruel bondage in which they are held; and would deeply sympathize with any who may on this account be exposed to persecution by the slave holders of the United States, and would affectionately commend them and their near relatives to the protection of the God of the oppressed.

4. That the Committee respectfully yet urgently call on the friends of human rights & Religion in this and other countries to unite their confederate and consistent protest against the system of American Slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and would especially urge on the Christian churches and people of the United States that solemn duty of sustaining by every constitution and ordinance which means its immediate and entire termination, and the universal application of the solemn truth embodied in their declaration of independence, that ye shall "do unto all men as ye would be done unto" and endow them with the rights

inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the  
pursuit of happiness.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Committee

J. S. Murray

Chairman





From E. A. Phelps

At a meeting of the Committee of The Worcester Anti Slavery Association held on Tuesday the 11<sup>th</sup> day of March 1845.

Alderman Edward Evans, in the Chair.

the following resolutions were passed unanimously.

— That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their Christian sympathy and respect for those philanthropic individuals who are now imprisoned in certain Jails and Penitentiaries of America, for having bid the Captives go free, and aiding Slaves to escape from the cruel bondage in which they were held by the free citizens of the United States.

That although this Committee conscientiously deprecate international interference and dictation, they cannot, on this occasion, withhold the em-

—phatic declaration of their opinion, that a Code of laws, by whatever State it may be adopted, which denounces acts of humanity as crimes, and punishes deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, is alike repugnant to the precepts of our common Christianity, and to the Spirit of that free Constitution, from which both England and America derive their claim to the foremost rank among the enlightened Nations of the World. —

Edward Everett.  
Chairman

From E. A. Phelps

At a Meeting of the Committee of the  
Youghal Anti-Slavery Society, held in the  
Savings Bank the 10.<sup>th</sup> of March 1845.

John Barton Grey, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were  
unanimously passed,

That this Committee feel it to be their duty  
publicly to express their deep sympathy for those persons  
now incarcerated in the jails & Penitentiaries of Virginia,  
Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, & Florida, on the charge  
of having counselled, or aided & abetted certain Slaves to  
escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged  
acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel  
& degrading punishments by the Slave courts of the United States,  
they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That in the view of this Committee, the law of  
American Slavery, which condemns nearly three  
millions of human beings, & their posterity after them,  
to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel  
incidents, is, & should be considered by all good men, as  
morally null & void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation  
of the natural rights of man, & an impious invasion of the  
prerogatives of Almighty God.

That



That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it; laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, & punish deeds of mercy with chains & imprisonment, branding & the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity & benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on all the friends of humanity & religion in this & other countries to enter their emphatic & united protest against the system of American Slavery, as founded in iniquity & upheld by oppression; & especially to urge on the Christian Philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional & Christian means, its immediate & entire abolition, & the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that, "God has created all men equal, & endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness".

Finally, — That this Committee tender their warm & heartfelt sympathy to the owner & children, & other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard & care of their fellow labourers in the cause of injured & oppressed humanity.

John Grey  
Congregational Minister  
Chairman

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From E. A. Phelps

At a meeting of the Committee of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society for Darlington, co. of Durham, & the vicinity, The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed upon, 7th of March, 1845, to be signed by the Committee, & other Friends of the cause, as time will permit.

John Church Backhouse, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, That we publicly express our deep sympathy for the valued individuals now in the jails, &c., of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, & Florida, on a charge of having aided some slaves to escape from their bondage.

That, so far from regarding as crimes the acts for which they are condemned to cruel punishments by the slave courts of America, we believe them to be deeds of Christian charity.

That in our view, the law of slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent persons to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel incidents, is considered by all good men as morally null & void, as being a violation of the natural rights of man, & an invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That, the wickedness of this law is more apparent, in that it requires laws equally iniquitous to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity, & punish deeds of mercy with chains, imprisonment, & the pillory; reversing the Christian law, which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That, we therefore urgently call on the friends of humanity, & religion, to enter their protest against the system of American slavery, founded in iniquity & upheld by oppression, & that we urge on the Christian Philanthropists of the United States, the solemn duty

of

(over)

- of seeking by every Christian, & constitutional means, its immediate abolition, & the application of the truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that "God hath created all men equal, & endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness."

Finally, That we tender our heartfelt sympathy to the wives & children of our imprisoned friends, & affectionately commend them to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," & to the Christian regard of our fellow-labourers in the cause of oppressed humanity.

(Signed) - - -

J. Backhouse, Chairman.

John Backhouse

Joseph Leese Junr

William Robson

John B. Pease

Thos. Bowes

Wm. Henderson

W. L. Scanlan

Jam. Barnard

Wm. C. W. W. W. W.

Sam. Sanson

Alex. Fothergill

Joseph Neville

Thos. Oxendale

Peace for

Mr. Backhouse

Joseph Sams

Richard P. P. P.

Ed. Lightfoot

Wm. Lightfoot

Wm. Sanson

Henry Barlow

Samuel Barlow

Jos. Manley

Thos. B. Speciall

William Thompson

Wm. W. W.

M. Potts

George Highington



John Fothergill  
William Fothergill

Joseph Bryan  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Middleton

Col. Hudson

John C. Hopkins

Edward Orley

Mr. Pym

George Guide

James Craddock

Jonathan Desser

Edward Nippling

John Fopham

William Ritching

John Coates

William Wilson

Wm. Fossie

John Farmer

Samuel Thompson

Gro<sup>r</sup> Middleton

Mike Middleton

John Middleton

John Livick

Mr. Keaman

John Brodie

Frederick Stearns

William Furness

Samuel Barlow Jun<sup>r</sup>

Charles Parker

Robert Hasdick

Jno. Harley

Richard Witching

Thomas Witching

Anthony Piusant

Peter Watson

John Smith

James Porter

William Haworth



Mr Richardson  
Jas Coates  
Edw. Grant  
Thos. McLachlan  
James Smith  
Geo Simpson -

Wm Raylo  
George Coates  
R. B. Flanagan  
Christie Wattrin  
P. B. Bowser  
Robert Johnson

Darlington, N. B. & Co. & Co. & Co.  
June 24, 1891

William Eggett -  
Robert Willis  
John Harris  
John Hay  
John Gault  
Charles Gollop

William Bilton  
William Aeron  
Joseph Bowron  
Joseph Sparkes  
Geo Walters  
John Beighton

# American Slavery

At a Meeting of the Committee of the  
Colchester Auxiliary, to the British  
and Foreign Antislavery Society,

Thomas Catchpool, Esq.  
in the Chair

It was resolved.

- 1<sup>st</sup> That this Committee has received with deepest regret the intelligence respecting the imprisonment of worthy Christian men in the jails and Penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Florida, for no other cause than that of counselling, aiding and abetting certain Slaves in their escape from Southern Bondage.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> It is the decided opinion of this Committee that the law of American Slavery which legalises the trade in human beings which condemns Three Millions of our fellow Creatures to perpetual bondage, which virtually sanctions all the revolting crimes and merciful enormities of that iniquitous system — is null and void from the beginning as being totally contrary to the laws and prerogative of Almighty God, as well as the national rights of men.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Therefore this Committee is of opinion that these estimable men are guilty of no crime in aiding their fellow creatures to escape from the authority of such a law, but that the iniquity of the legislation becomes the more glaring and frightful, in that it subjects good and merciful men to chains & imprisonment, branding and pillory for



the performance of acts of Christian Charity and Love commanded by God our Saviour, this Committee considers it a duty in such case to obey God rather than men the laws of their country being at open variance with those which must of necessity have a higher claim upon them as accountable to their final Judge

4<sup>th</sup> This Committee urgently calls upon all the friends of humanity and religion in this and other Countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against American Slavery and the laws which sanction it and especially to urge all those who call themselves Christians in the United States to the most active and untiring zeal in this cause seeking by every Constitutional means in the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery in every form that then and not not till then they may consistently and rightfully boast of that sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence that God hath created all men equal and endowed them with certain unalienable rights, among which are life liberty & the pursuit of happiness

5<sup>th</sup> That this Committee would with much sympathy express its deep interest in the sorrows and afflictions of the Prisoners, their wives Children and near friends and its devout wishes and fervent prayers that He who loosed the prisoners and is a Refuge for the Oppressed may have mercy on them and excite the compassion and sympathy of all good men towards them in their sufferings for Righteousness' sake

Colchester Mar<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1845.

Signed on behalf  
of the Committee

W<sup>m</sup> Cross.  
Secretary.



## American Slavery.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Essex Anti-Slavery <sup>Society</sup> held on Friday the 14<sup>th</sup> day of March 1845, the Rev. John Bigwood in the chair. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

That this committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for the estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel and revolting incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principal to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and <sup>punish</sup> deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and <sup>the</sup> pillory, thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means, its immediate and entire abolition; and the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independance, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally,—That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives, and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow-labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

Signed in behalf of the Committee

John Bigwood dissenting Committee Chairman —



English Antiquary



From E. A. Phelps

Carlisle

At a meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, held on Monday the 17<sup>th</sup> day of March 1845 Joseph Ferguson Esq. in the Chair. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for those estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they ~~they~~ esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonments, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

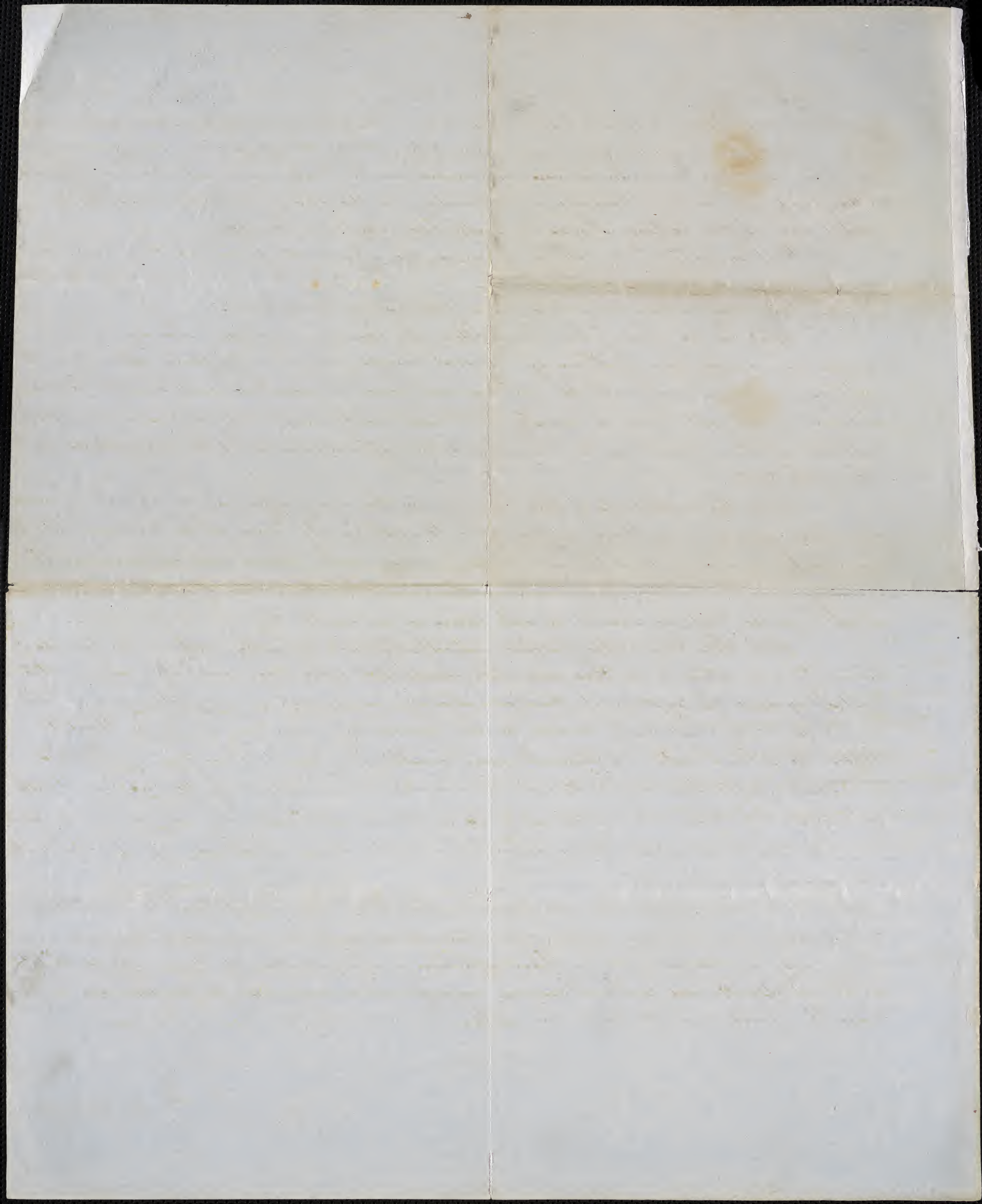
That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire abolition, and the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally. That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting

by Joseph Ferguson  
Chairman





At a meeting of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Anti-Slavery Society, - held at St. Andrew's Hall, on Wednesday, March 12<sup>th</sup> 1845, S. J. Gurney, Esq. in the chair. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for those estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That in the view of this Committee, the law of American Slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and



their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence, which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee, therefore, respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in

iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking, by every constitutional and Christian means, its immediate and entire abolition, and the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, — among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally, — That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

J. J. Gurney      Chairman  
William Broch }  
John Gurney      } Secretaries





At a Meeting of the Committee of the  
Mendocino Antislavery and Aborigines Protection Society,  
held in W. Weston's Hall, on Tuesday the 11<sup>th</sup>  
March 1845 Anthony Wigham Esq. in the Chair,  
the subject of the imprisonment of certain individuals  
in several of the American States, on the charge  
of having aided Slaves in effecting their escape from  
bondage, was taken into consideration.

The following Resolutions express the  
sentiments, not only of the Committee, but, they believe,  
the sentiments also of the public generally in this  
City on this painful subject.

1. That no man has a right of property  
in his fellow-man, or a right to claim his services  
without his own consent. "God having created all men  
equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable  
rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit  
of happiness."

2. That the law of Slavery in America  
is a direct contravention of this first principle of  
American independence; and ought, therefore, to be held  
by all civilized Nations as null and void.

3. That it cannot therefore be a crime  
for a Slave peacefully to effect his escape from the  
operation of this law, nor ought it to be viewed other-  
-wise than as, in itself, an act of benevolence, in any  
man

Anti. Wigham Chairman



man to lend his aid to his fellow-creature in endeavouring  
thus to escape from bondage.

4 That this Committee, therefore, approving  
of the feelings that led those benevolent individuals who  
are now enduring punishment under Slave holding Law,  
to assist certain Slaves in their endeavours to obtain  
their liberty, deeply sympathizing with them and their  
afflicted families, and cannot but reprobate the system  
that subjects such Men to unmerited Opprobrium and  
suffering for exercising some of the noblest impulses  
of humanity.

D. Dewar P.

Josh. Mighan V.P.

Lurguehart V.P.

John Kennedy

David Macalister } Secretaries

Geo. B. Brantingham, Treasurers

Thomas Metton

Mr. Troup -

James Watson

Henry Angus

A. D. D. D.

John Leslie

Wm. Elmslie

Alm Stewart

Joseph Powell

James Stirling

George Jamieson

John Smith

Robt. Sedgewick

Alex. Thomson



At a Public Meeting held at Colchester in the North Riding  
of the County of York The 11. day of First Month John  
Chipchase in the Chair The following resolutions were passed unanimously  
1845.

That this Meeting moved by the glaring violation of the personal  
liberty of several citizens of the United States, by imprisonment in  
the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri,  
and Florida, for the imputed crime of assisting slaves to escape  
from Southern bondage, expresses its sympathy for them in the  
sufferings to which they have been unjustly subjected.

That they regard the imputed crimes, for which they have been  
condemned to cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts  
of the United States, as deeds of Christian benevolence.

That this Meeting regards the system of American slavery by  
which nearly three millions of human beings, and their posterity,  
are condemned to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel and revolting  
incidents, as a manifest violation of the rights of man.

That to support this iniquitous system of slavery, laws have  
been passed, iniquitous in principle, laws which punish acts of  
the purest benevolence as crimes, and deeds of mercy with chains,  
and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; impiously attempting  
to compel men to act contrary to the great Christian precept, "as you  
would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them".

That this Meeting enters its protest against the system of  
American Slavery, as iniquitous and oppressive, and urges on the  
well-disposed citizens of the United States, the duty of seeking by every  
constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire  
abolition, and <sup>the</sup> universal application of that noble assertion contained  
in their Declaration of Independence, that, "God hath created all men  
equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among  
which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

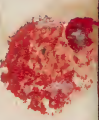


Lastly, — That this Meeting tender its sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commends them in their affliction, to the protection of Him, who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow-labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

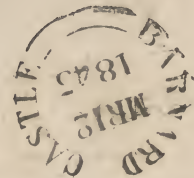
Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting  
by — John Chipchase

20  
nks,  
00 -

by







*Castle Mrie  
1845*

*G. W. Alexander  
27 New Broad St  
London*